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Selected Miscellany.

Special correspondence of the Chicago Times.

From Memphis. Abandonment of the Siege of Vicksburg-The Ineffectual Attempt to Capture the Arkansas -- The Negro Canal Diggers Turned Loose to Shift for Themselves - Where the Fleet have Gone.

MEMPHIS, TENN., July 29. The ram Queen of the West arrived vesterday from Vicksburg, with intelligence of important years to be shot at. events in that locality. She brings details of the

kansas, and confirmation of the rumor that the seige of Vicksburg has been abandoned. After several weeks' exertion, with an armament of over two hundred guns, and a naval as the river fell, were disposed of by turning them force unequaled in strength on our inland waters, loose into the woods. A portion were carried the Federals have failed to destroy a fortification | down the river and deposited on the shore in the mounting from thirty to forty guns, and have neighborhood of their homes, and the whole been fairly bullied and baffled by one little iron pack was thus got rid of. This was a bitter pill gunboat, into running away and leaving the job. for the blacks, who were sure that Kingdom The rebels are entitled to raise the shout of ex- Come had arrived when the Federals got there.

to the other of the Confederacy. about this result will not be uninteresting. No they had no alternative except to take to the boots have penetrated the rebel blockade of the woods to starve, until they choose to go home to river except the Queen, and the mails which have their masters. They went with the Federals so been lost so breaks the connection that minor de- willingly, in many cases coming out of the woods tails are at present unattainable. The affair of where their masters had hidden them, and in the 15th, when the new invulnerable made her many more insulting them most gratuitously in appearance and ran through our fleet so compla- the process, that they at present stand in bodily cently, is well known; also, the more recent at | fear of being killed the moment they are caught; tempt by Com. Farragut to blow her out of the so they live between the danger of starvation and water by the combined broadsides of his fleet murder. when running by the batteries, which resulted in little or nothing. From that time to the present It is full five feet above the water, and as that

boat sat heavily upon the consciences of our na- the top of a moderate sized hill, it will never disturbed their sleepy equanimity. A plan was accordingly laid by which it was hoped that she but failed ignominiously. Half an inch a day was might be taken, and on the 19th, at about sun- too much for them. rise, it was put into execution. The new iron clad gunboat Essex and the ram Queen of the river, and is now at New Orleans. He took on West were detailed for the duty, and at a given | board Gen. Williams and his four thousand men signal the Essex led the way upon the field of action. The plan was that these two boats should day Davis's flotilla left the position and came attack her and cut her out and carryher off bodily, while the rest of the gunboats, above and below, engaged the batteries. The latter part of the down. arrangement failed, as the boats did not venture within range, and the gallant pair were left

to fight it out alone. parations were made to receive her. The bow of | before breakfast. the Arkansas was swung out so as to present a front to the Essex, and, if possible, receive her river. Batteries had been planted at various on her iron prow. This operated to throw the assailing boat out of her course, and, in avoiding the iron prow, she struck a glancing blow, which left the fleet on Sunday, the 21st, with dispatches, did no particular harm. Her gunners had been active in the meantime, and several shots had been fired into the Arkansas, one of which, an Shots passed through her steampipe and maeleven inch solid shot, went through her from chinery, and she was grounded on the Island. stem to stern, killing five men. After striking. The passengers and crew, some thirty in number, the Essex recoiled from the collision, and swung got ashore and roamed about the Island until the around below the Arkansas, with her bow close most of them were captured. From Lieut. J. H. in shore, and, while in that position, both boats Wing, the only one who escaped, I learn some opened a fierce cannonading. The balls took effect upon the Essex, and cut her up badly, while the Arkansas, as usual, was invulnerable. She almost helpless. One party went up to the head der, and turned the heavy missiles of her enemy | Those who were with Lieut. Wing took to the aside, like paper pellets, or crumbled them to atoms with a flash of blue light, and threw them day, when they discovered the Victoria going overboard piecement. The Essex was, meantime, down. They could not make themselves heard, in danger of being sunk, and prudently conclua number wounded, and was fighting alone a bat- being unable to proceed further, and was captur-

good bealway on, when she was hailed by Com- out in all four days, almost without food, and modore Davis. In order to receive his communi- underwent the greatest privations, but his perse cation, she was obliged to stop and return, when verance saved him. All the rest of them were it was ascertained that the old gentleman was taken prisoners except the Pilot, who escaped in merely telling them to go it as strongly as was a small bont. Lieut Tubbs, of Jefferson county, feasible under the circumstances. This little di- Wisconsin, is among the captured; also a Mr. gression sent the Essex into action alone, and, be- Fowler, of Chicago, an army contractr. The fore the Queen was again under headway, she rebels burned the boat. The mails had been had fought the battle and passed on. The ram thrown overboard before she surrendered, and went down in fine style. She had a hundred and therewith went much valuable newspaper corresfifty pounds of steam on, and was fairly bounding from the water when she struck the Arkansas. She made a circle to strike her square, and the concussion was like an earthquake. The Arkansas careened, and rose out of the water as iflifted bodily off her bed. A crash of timber and iron resounded in the air as the two boats parted, and the Queen backed her engines and prepared for a second blow. The Arkansas gave a heavy rell and settled back to her position quietly, and again they came together. There was another crash and another surge, and once more they parted. The Queen turned and ran for the upper fleet, amid a perfect storm of balls, which rat- far as ordinary steamboats are concerned. tled about her in every direction. She was pierced in every part, and only escaped sinking by a miracle. She was in a disabled condition, for the only result of her tremendous blows had been to batter her prow into a wreck, and unjoint the iron sheathing with which it was covered. She got the worst of it by long odds, for the Arkansas seemed to lie as quietly as ever, and as invul-

perable as ever. She was, in reality, uninjured It may be well to add that the man who took her into this storm of iron, to encounter a foe of ten times her strength, and fight single handed a battle in which there should have been a hundred-

thirty five more on the bluff, while they mounted somet ing over two hundred; but all that amounted to nothing so long as she was too much for them. She could not be shot to pieces, or sufficiently banged about to induce her to show the white flag, under any circumstances, and the OPPOSITE THE OLD POSTOFFICE. only alternative was to run away and leave her, like a parcel of corn-fed boys breaking their necks to put the fence between themselves and a small buil calf which happened to be plucky and pugnacious. Really, after such a performance, it would not have looked surprising to have caught a committee of three heroes applying salt to her stern-post some dark night, that she

might be safely caged the next morning The upshot was sufficiently ridiculous to crown Thirty copies, and one copy of the Weekly and one of the Daily to the maker of the club..... 30 00

Fifty copies, and two copies of the Weekly and two of the Daily...... 50 00

Additions can be made to Clubs at any time at the above many turtles on their backs; not a pound of rates. The names will be printed on each paper, without steam to move themselves with, and each vessel carefully anchored so that, if she fired a gun, she was sure to rake her next neighbor or sink a transport. The small prodigy floated leisurely along, delivering her fire right and left among the astonished fogies, who were too much dumbfoundered at her audacity to do much besides open their mouths and look; and finally rested under the protection of the friendly batteries. Wdekly SEXTINEL, will be charged the full Daily rates, with one-half the Weekly rates added. ouncing deaths with funeral notice attached, \$1; rush at nothing, and got punctured for her pains. She might as well have rushed at the moon. She poked her nose around the corner, when there was nothing in the world to shoot at, and received the full fire of the batteries, and was glad enough rtisements leaded and placed under the head of to get back again, like a valorous gander charg-Special Notices, iften lines or over, will be charged double | ing to protect his geese, after the danger is all past, and perchance running his nose into a hor-Yearly advertisers to pay quarterly.

Announcing candidates for offices of every description net's nest. Then the fleet must run the blockto be charged at the rate of \$1 50 for each name in the ade and sink her. They ran the blockade, but Daily, and \$2 in the Daily and Weekly, the same to be, in did not sink her. Some say it was dark, and they could not find her, and others say that when torneys ordering, and not delayable for the legal proceed-ings, but collectable at our usual lime. Publishers not the Irishman's potato, too hot to hold. At all events, they left her there, although the supposition that they might have brought her away is by no means incredible. There were nine of them, all powerful steamers, and, it they had grappled with her and dragged her off by main force, nobody would have objected. But they did not do that. And then they must knock her to pieces with rams. So the two brave boats above mentioned went at her, and the rest looked on. It was like a boy fight at the back of the school-ELDER, HARKNESS, & BINGHAM. house, where two do all the hair-pulling and finger-clawing, while he rest sit and enjoy it. Of course the enemy considered it a joke, destitute of any serious intentions, and refused to accommodate them with a surrender. Perhaps, if they had all pitched in, as if they meant something, ! and backed up the supposition with their two hundred and odd guns, a different result would have been gained; but they never thought of that. Even the venerable fossil who presides at the head of the Navy Department would have got that through his hair sooner than they. If he showed more imbecility, he ought to be made a figure-head for some bold rebel craft like the Ar-

kansas, and be compelled to live a thousand Having determined to evacuate, the small colsecond unsuccessful attempt to capture the Ar ony of a thousand negroes which had been employed on the canal, by whose united efforts the work of genius had effected a level five feet above the water-line, with an increasing ratio going on ultation which at this moment rings from one end | They made a rush for the boats, and would have taken them by force had they dared. They were A rapid resume of the events which brought beaten off and told to shift for themselves, and

The canal remains a monument of inefficiency. the events have not reached publicity, although fluid does not surmount such slight obstacles unaided, there is no chance of its being baptized. The failure of the attempt to capture the rebel | Until the Mississippi can be coaxed to run over val heroes, as the audacity of her first appearance change its bed in that locality. The contrabands

On the 24th, Farragut's ficet went down the and left them at Baton Rouge. On the same up to the mouth of the Yazoo river, where it now remains, waiting for more invulnerables to come

The Essex and the Sumter, victims of the grand policy which has directed movements, are below Vicksburg, and can not get up. Farragut left The Essex made a grand dash around the three of his gunboats to protect them with a bend, and went at her enemy in fine style. She strong probability that the Arkansas will come was discovered immediately, of course, and pre- out some fine morning and gobble them all up

In the meantime the rebels were busy up the

points, and the boats were being fired into continually. The Sallie Wood, a transport, which mail and passengers, was fired into at Island 82, immediately above Greenville, and disabled. particulars. Lieut. James C. Biddle, of Philadelphia, was sick, and there were others who were seemed to be impervious to the strength of pow- of the Island and were taken the next forenoon. woods, and concealed themselves until the next and she passed on. They returned to the woeds. ded to leave. She had lost three men killed and Lieut Biddle was left behind at inc own request, tle in which the whole fleet should have been en- ed. Lieut. Wing left the party to explore, and gaged. She swung off, and started down stream saw them no more, but met a negro the next day under the fire of all the batteries, and ran a who told him that they had got starved out and gauntlet which would have sunk any ordinary given themselves up. He continued his efforts to escape, and the next night waded to a tow-head, Meantime the Queen of the West was getting or small island near, where he remained till taken way She made her start, and had got a off by the Carondelet, which passed. He was pondence to the bottom of the Mississi

The Queen of the West was attacked at the same place on her way up, but she was well protected and managed to come through. She go a large number of cannon balls through her, one of which made two pieces of the carpenter, who was instantly killed. There were many parrow escapes. The passengers occupied themselves in peppering their assailants with some old muskets which were on board, which probably did more execution behind than before. The rebels have planted batteries in three or four different places, and have most effectually blockaded the river, so

From the Indianapolis Journal. Astounding Developments before the United States Grand Jury.

A SECRET SOCIETY OF TRAFFORS IN INDIANA. In the District Court of the United States, for the

District of Indiana, Man Term, 1862. The Grand Jurors of the United States of America, within and for the District of Indiana, fold more force, was Lieut. Hunter, who is stig- empanneled, sworn and charged in said district matized by the commander of the Tyler as a at said May term thereof, having about comcoward and a poltroon for his course in the first pleted their labors (and being now ready to ad ingagement. It shows that hasty words may do Journ) feel it their imperative duty to announce It having been demonstrated to the satisfaction the general features of some startling developof the antiquated council which presides over the destinies of the river fleet, that the Arkansas was too much for them, the next step was to abandon with the disturbed condition of the country by the field and leave her in victorious possession.

True, she was but one, while they were fifteen or twenty. She carried ten guns and was backed by

be made known, that prompt and efficient meas ures may be taken by the civil and military authorities to meet and ward off the effect of the Hon. JOHN S. CARLILE. wicked and treasonable designs of those connected with such developments.

A recent act of Congress made it the duty of the Grand Jury to inquire into any combinations or conspiracies formed by individuals within the jurisdiction of the court to prevent the execution of any law of the United States. Having heard that organizations with this object in view existed in certain localities, witnesses were sent for, and brought before the Grand Jury. These wit nesses came from many counties, and lived in various parts of the State. After a careful and diligent examination of the testimony from witnesses well acquainted with the facts deposed, and having a personal knowledge of the matters, odges, or "Castles" as they denominate them, are located in various parts of the State, yet they have common signs, grips, and words whereby the members are able to distinguish each other, and passwords to enable the member to enter the castle in which he was initiated, or any other which such member may choose to visit. They have signals by which they can commu-nicate with each other in the day, or the night time, and above all they have a signal or sign which may be recognized at a great distance from the person giving it. This last signal, we regret to say, was invented for the use of such members as should, by means of the draft or otherwise, be compelled to serve in the ranks of the army. In such case members of the order serving in opposing armies receiving the sign are reminded of their obligation not to injure the member giving it. This signal is given in every instance upon the initiation of a new member, and its observance is strictly enjoined upon every individual belonging to the order. By the teachings of the organization it is the outy of its members engaged in the present war, although ar rayed on opposite sides, upon the signal being given, if they shoot at all, "to shoot over each other." Many members of the order examined before us admit the binding force of the obligation, and pretend to justify it as correct in princi-

Said Grand Jury would respectfully submit that the effect of such obligation is to set aside the oath taken by every soldier when he enters the service of the United States. The obligation imposed by the organization alluded to is inconsistent with the duties of a soldier who in battle dare not spare the person of his enemy. We must either disarm or destroy him, and especially so longlas the rebe! may be seeking to take the life of the loval soldier. To do otherwise, would be grossly treacherous, and justly subject the guilty

party to a traitor's doom. From the evidence introduced before said Grand Jury, it would seem that the order called the Knights of the Golden Circle had their origin in some of the Southern States, and was introduced into this State from Kentucky. Its primary object, when it originated, was to organize the friends of the institution of African slavery in the United States, for the purpose of acquiring more territory in Mexico and the Central American States, and also the acquisition of Cuba, thereby to extend and foster a great slave empire, even though it should dye those countries in human blood. Hence the various raids made upon those countries which have called forth from time to time the proclamations of our former Presidents, denouncing such attempts and threatening the exercise of the power of the Government to put them down. Wicked as these hellish schemes were, said drand Jury would not have troubled this Honorable Court with this presentment had the machinations of the Knights of the Golden Circle been confined solely to their original designs. Finding how useful such an organization was for the purposes originally intended, said Grand Jubelieve that it not only extends at present through every part of the South, and every department of the rebel army, but during the last winter and spring was introduced into the State of Indiana and other Northern States. Since that time it has made alarming progress in our midst, with entirely new features attached to it in view of the unnatural conflict now desolating our country. Not only are the loyal soldiers in the army to be treacherously betrayed in the bloody hour of battle, by the signals before re ferred to, but said Grand Jury have abundant evidence of the membership binding themselves to resist the payment of the Federal tax and prevent

enlistments in the armies of the United States. It is a fact worthy of note, and conclusively shown, that in localities where this organization extensively prevails, there has been a failure to furnish a fair proportion of volunteers. Said Grand Jury, after a thorough examination on that point, have been unable to find any instance where a member of said organization had volun teered to fight for the Union under the late requiition for volunteers. Said Grand Jury were informed that an individual of the Order had proposed to make up a company to be called "Jayhawkers," composed exclusively of "Knights of the Golden Circle." But said Grand Jury believe that at no time was the proposition seriously entertained, but in fact only intended as a cover to hide their treasonable purposes when they

found they were about to be discovered. The meetings of the Order referred to are holden in by places, sometimes in the woods, and at other times in deserted houses. Its members frequently attend with arms in their hands, and in almost every instance, armed sentinels are posted to keep off intruders. Youths not more than sixteen years of age are in many cases introduced and initiated into its mysteries. The credulous and unwary are often allured into the fold of the no other purpose than the better organization of and pledges violated, that I tremble for my their party. Its real character and teaching are country. sedulously concealed until the oath of secresy has he is obligated in the highest degree, and is turn- and the Union. ed out upon the country a thorough traitor, with the wicked purposes already specified. Said pose than the objects stated in the resolution of Grand Jury are happy to know that in many July, 1861, can we, justifiably, wage this war. cases individuals, after their first introduction into Against whom is this war waged? Against redoned it, although unwilling, on account of their destroy the Constitution and sever the Union unviolence, are reluctant to fully expose its treacher- and for the preservation of the Government crea

it has been discovered that the order exists among it from these objects we disregard our constituthe prisoners of war now in Camp Morton, who tional obligations, declare they are no longer refuse to testify, upon the ground that it may im binding upon us, and by thus acting we place plicate the members of their order in Indiana, and ourselves side by side with the rebel in arms, and

in case of judicial investigation, it appears that their signs are to be used to enable them to get Constitution for the purpose of "overwhelming or members of their order on the jury, in case of interfering with the established institutions" of the criminal charges being preferred against them, States, or any one of them, is likewise a traitor. and by changes of venue, and appeals from a Fellow-citizens, as an individual I have probably Judge who does not belong to the order, to cre- a deeper interest in the maintenance of the Conate judicial delays, until they can find a Judge stitution and the preservation of the Union than

Said Grand Jury have no doubt that the order the convention against the ordinance of secession, of the "Knights of the Golden Circle" exists in fully impressed with the conviction that it was many localities in Indiana where their vigilance not good for me to be there, I stand to-day inhas not been able to penetrate. They have la-bored under many difficulties in their researches, of Virginia, and a price is set upon my head. If and have drawn evidence in most of the cases this Union is permitted to be destroyed and a from unwilling witnesses. Judicial oaths have Southern Confederacy established, I could not but little binding force where individuals once live in it-there would be no place of safety for consent to abandon the allegiance they owe their me in my native State. From its soil I would country. The general facts, however, so far as have to go an outcast and a wanderer. Were they have come to the knowledge of the said governed by feelings of resentment or revenge, Grand Jury, have been submitted to this honor- was my nature vindictive. I have more to tempt able Court. They teel it their duty to me in that direction than any one of my knowldo so. The safety of the country in this edge, certainly more than any citizen of a non-hour of peril and civil strife demands it at their slaveholding State. But I cherish no resenthands. The power of such an organization to ments, I have no revengeful feelings in connec do harm, acting as one man, with one purpose in tion with this struggle. My Government, the view, with their influence, may be appreciated by Government formed by Washington and his comthe honorable Court. It is the place where trea- patriots and bequeathed to us is imperilled, and son is concocted-the nest where traitors are I am here to-day standing upon what was once

The Grand Jury, therefore, respectfully ask up to the Union, to counsel with you, my breth-this Court that this their presentment may be ren, how we shall best discharge our duty to that spread upon the records. WILLIAM P. FISHBACK, Foreman.

George Moon, James Blake, Wm. A. Montgomery, T. B. McCarty. conidas Sexton, James Hill. Daniel Sagre, Robt. Parrett

SPEECH OF

At the Great Mass Meeting of the Democracy and Conservative Citizens of Indiana, held at Indianapolis, July 30th, 1862.

Loud calls being made for Mr. Carrier, the President of the meeting, Hon. T. A. HENDRICKS,

Fellow-citizens: Last April, one year ago, the present civil war commenced at Fort Sumter, in South Carolina. State after State had been going out of the Union, and the grave question was presented to the great old Commonwealth of said Grand Jury are constrained to say that a secret and oath-bound organization exists, numbering some fifteen thousand in Indiana, as esticided to go. Western Virginia decided to remain mated by the members of their order, commonly known as Knights of the Golden Circle, and even young statesman of that portion of the State. known as Knights of the Golden Circle, and even young statesman of that portion of the State. in the same localities by different names. Their That gallant statesman I now have the honor to introduce to you in the person of the Hon, John S. Carlile, Senator from Western Virginia. After the prolonged cheering, which greeted

his appearance, had subsided, Mr. Carling said: People of Indiana, my Countrymen and my fair Countrywomen: Clouds and darkness are round about us. For more than a twelvementh we have been engaged in a fearful, terrible, fratricidal war. Let us pause and ponder on this.

What are the objects of that war? Congress, in July, 1861, solemnly declared them to be "to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Con-stitution and to preserve the Union with all the dignity, equality and rights of the several States unimpaired." No other war could or would be justified by the civilization and Christianity of the age. If the people of the United States suffer this war to be diverted from these objects we shall bring down upon ourselves the execrations of mankind and the just vengeance of a righteous God. How is this war to be waged? Congress,

speaking for the nation, in the same declaratory resolution, has said "that this war is not waged on our part in any spirit of oppression, or for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, or purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of the seceded States."This formal declaration of the purposes and objects of the war, made the very day after our reverse at the battle of Bull Run, was but a reiteration by the American people, through their representa tives having authority to speak for them, of the instructions given by the President of the United States through the head of the State Department (Mr. Seward) to the representatives of our Government abroad, and we stand to-day com mitted before the world that for no other purpose than the objects stated in the resolution referred to, shall this war be waged; yet the controlling majority of the same Congress at its last session was clamorous for a change of policy in the conduct of the war, and have even assailed the President because he did not repudiate not only their own declarations and his instructions, to which I have referred, but also his own deliberate announcement in his inaugural address, that he had 'no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists"-that he believed he had "no lawful right to do so," and that he had "no inclination to do so." The dominant party in Congress would repudiate not only their own solemn pledges, but in their mad zeal would have the Chief Executive of this once proud and honored nation, respected at home and abroad, violate his own solemn pledge, voluntarily given in the address to which I have referred. Nor is this all They would have him disregard his oath of office; for in the extract I have read he says he has no constitutional, or, to use his own language, 'no lawful right to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists;" and they would have him, who has taken a solemn oath to see that the laws are faithfully executed and to preserve, protect and defend the Constitu tion of his country, violate that Constitution and that oath, and would compel him to do that which he has said he had no lawful right to do. Who that has observed the discussions in Congress for the last eight months that does not know that three fourths of its time was consum ed in discussions and propositions for a change of policy in the conduct of the war, looking to the oercion by legislative action of the President, who, by the Constitution, is made the Command er-in-Chief of our armies, and thereby charged with the conduct of the war, into the adoption of the policy so clamorously contended for by the ultra element that controlled the Congress at the ession just closed. They even raised a "Committee on the Conduct of the War," with "Brave Ben Wade" at its head, and the Senator from Michigan, who in February, 1861, thought "the Union would not be worth a curse without a little blood-letting," by his side. Thus, people of Indiana, has the issue been made by this dominant party in Congress, and by them forced upon you. Shall this war be waged for the purposes declared in the resolution of Congress of July, 1861, or shall it be waged for the extermination of the white race in the seceded States and the liberation of the negro in the slaveholding States? This issue they have made. The President, in his Border State Address, tells us it threatens division among those who, united, are none too

military despotism."

your special attention:

"Ashland, September 2, 1845.

petual war, the extermination of the African race-ulti-

with the free laborer-with the American, the Irish, the

throughout the Union: they would enter into comp

strong, and that the pressure is upon him and is increasing. Will not the patriotic heart of the Great West aid the President in resisting this pressure? Plighted faith, I have shown you, requires it. Humanity demands it, and if division of sentiment among "those who united are none too strong" shall follow, upon those who forced the issue and continue the "pressure" the responsibility rests. But, fellow citizens, "thrice is he armed who hath his quarrel just," and it is only when faith is broken, honor thrown to the dogs,

If we would not be parties criminal with these been in due form administered. Having taken men, who would trample the Constitution as well the first degree, the initiate is familiarized with as their own solemn declarations in the dust, we the obligations and opinions of his associates, and must use all constitutional means afforded us to is gradually prepared for the second degree. prevent them from turning this war for the Con-When he is further taught and found apt to learn, stitution and the Union into a war for the negro and ready to adopt its principles and teachings, over the prostrate bodies of both the Constitution

ed faith, and all our constitutional obligati

I have said, and repeat again, for no other purthe Order, seeing its evil tendencies, have aban- bellious citizens who have combined together to obligations of secresy, and for fear of personal der it. It is only in the name of the Constitution Since said Grand Jury began said investigation on this war. The moment we attempt to divert thereby injure the cause of the Southern Confed | become with him equally guilty. The rebel in arms who violates the Constitution for the pur-For the purpose of evading any legal liability, pose of severing the Union is a traitor. He who or juror belonging to this order, and thus escape any one under the sound of my voice. I left the Capital of my State after recording my vote in

of the people's treasury.

What will be the result if such fanatical counthem. Virginia soil, but which she magnanimously gave Union, and to inquire if we can best serve our great country, by violating the nation's faith, by disregarding the Constitution, by liberating and arming slaves, regardless of the rights of the States and the dictates of humanity; or can we best discharge our duty to the Union by imitating the good and great men who formed it, by a od and great men wance of our plight-

a rigid adherence to our declarations made for officers at Beaufort, South Carolina, the followthe nation in July, 1861, "that in this national ling letter addressed to J. J. Elwell, Assistant

the nation in July, 1861, "that in this national emergency, banishing all feelings of mere passion or resentment, we would recollect only our duty to the whole country, and wage this war in no spirit of oppression or for any purpose of conquest or subjugation." Never did I feel the slightest alarm for the ultimate triumph of my country until during the last session of Congress, when I saw a controlling, working majority carrying out the policy of such men as Wendell Phillips—then, and not till then, I felt there was danger. I never doubted the power of the loyal people of these States to suppress this rebellion, and to protect the honest masses South bellion, and to protect the honest masses South from the machinations of their wicked oppressors who inaugurated this wicked rebellion. But I do fear the spirit that controls the dominant party in Congress. I fear all the enemies of the Union do not reside in the South. There are enemies to the Union North as well as South, and were it not that this Congress is composed of partisans elected in a time of peace, but of high party and sectional excitement before this war broke out, I govern themselves.

ed in a time of peace, but of high party and sectional excitement before this war broke out, I should have but little hope for my country. The suffrages of the people were obtained by denying that which Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, and other men of like fidelity and renown, had told the people and warned them against from their places in the Senate, House, and on the hustings for twenty long years. Again and again had the people been warned of the consequences that would inevitably follow the agitations of Gidings, Summer, et id omne genus. To-day one State Government in full operation, lust as we had in should have but little hope for my country. The would inevitably follow the agitations of Giddings, Summer, et id omne genus. To-day one represents you abroad, and the other is the leader of his party in the Senate. The latter introduces his proposition one day to reduce States to Territories. His party associates denounce it. A few days thereafter his party friend from New York introduces it under the guise of a bill shall be a significant of the contributing to the countries with its products, thus contributing to the to establish provisional governments for the se- countries with its products, thus contributing to the ceded States. Look at the journals of the last session and you will see that almost every suc cessful proposition of an anti-slavery character was foreshadowed by the Senator from Massa-where they will be most useful to themselves and to chusetts, although it may be, when first intro-

duced by sim, it received but little favor, I have Thus, side by side with my friends, the represometimes thought this was the result of an un sentatives of the people and the State of Indiana derstanding. Certain it is that such men as he in the Congress of the nation, would sit the loycompose the majority of Congress and he leads al blacks of South Carolina regulating your conthem or they adopt his opinions and incorporate duct by law, but taking care to shape their legisthem into the legislation of Congress. Well lation as not to allow you to form your "own domay Millard Fillmore say that Congress has un- mestic institutions in your own way."

done all that our armies have done. These men | People of Indiana, the power is with you and went, as I have remarked, in time of peace, but your brethern of the loyal States to see that this of high party and sectional excitement, before the war is waged for the purposes declared in the Jupeople, told them there would be no war, no dis- ly resolution. Will you at the ballot box make solution; that the South could not be kicked out good the declarations of that resolution? [Cries of the Union, could not live out of it; that the of "we will," "we will."

Southern country was not sufficiently fertile and Men who place the success of party above the fruitful to bread and provision its inhabitants or integrity and peace of the country ought not to be to support an army. In an evil hour the people entrusted by the people with any portion of gov listened to their teachings, disregarded the coun- ernmental power. Before the war began, when sels of the patriotic dead who were contempora- patriots everywhere were striving to avert it, when neous with the founders of our Government- good men were exerting all their energies of mind bearkened to the deceitful sayings of ambitious | and body to prevent it, a letter which I will presmen and confided to them power and place. Now ently read you, was written by a gentleman now that war has come and our country is fast be | and then representing a sovereign State in the Senate and at this time a member of the Com-

coming one vast military camp, these same men mittee on the Conduct of the War. would use the power thus obtained to change the purposes of the war. I shudder when I reflect You will remember that at the instance of my apon the madness of the fanaticism that seems to State before she entered upon the wickedness and have seized upon a portion of our people. There madness of secession, while she still remembered are those who would make the earth one great the 1,500,000 Northern men, good and true, who repository of dead men. Already has the Tri- voted against the Republican party at the last hune announced that the country south of the Presidential election, a convention or conference Petomac must be repeopled. See its issue of the was assembled at Washington and called the 22d inst. Do the people of Indiana sympathize Peace Congress. While this Congress was in with those who would exterminate the white session and while good men were exerting race South and repeople it in order that there themselves to save us from the calamities now shall be no Union with slaveholders? Is it for upon us, and when it was hoped their efforts this that Indiana has sent 60,000 of her gallant | might save the country from the wasting horrors sons into the field? The man is mistaken who of a civil war, then and there, at that hour, in believes that the people of the Southern States | that city of Washington, the following letter was can be exterminated and the country conquered | written to a Governor of one of the States of this and held. To hold and occupy 700,000 square Union, written, as it states, at the request of a miles of territory, inhabited by a hostile people. State upon whose soil was hatched this treasonable doctrine of secession, whose now Governor in is what never has been done. To exterminate such a people never has and, in my opinion, conformity to this doctrine of secessisn and as the never will be done. The prosecution of this necessary result of it, proclaimed in 1860 that war upon any such an idea, or for any such "laws were not made to be forced against a compurpose, will result as Mr. Clay predicted the munity but, only against exceptional, individual agitation of the question of slavery in the free transgressors." At the instance of a State which States would result: "First destroy all harmony and | twenty years and more ago convulsed the entire finally lead to disunion, poverty and perpetual war, land, because, as she asserted, the right of petition was violated by the manner a petition of her the extermination of the African race, ultimate citizens praying for a dissolution of the Union was

In 1845 Mr. Clay wrote the following letter to received. But to the letter. I read it: Rev. Mr. Colten, his biographer, to which I call My DEAR GOVERNOR:-Gev. Bingham and myself telegraphed you on Saturday, at the request of Massachusetts "My DEAR SEE: Allow me to select a subject for one of and New York, to send delegates to the Peace or Comp your tracts, which, treated in your popular and condensed way, I think would be attended with great and good effect—I mean Abolition.

"It is manifest that the ultras of that party are extremely mischievous, and are hurrying on the country to

"And yet they would see the administration of the Government precipitate the nation into absolute ruin before they would lend a helping hand to arrest its career. They treat worst, denounce most, those who treat them best, who so far agree with them as to admit slavery to be an evil. Witness their conduct towards Mr. Brieges and Mr. Adams in Massachus and Mr. Brieges and Mr. Adams in Massachus and Mr. Brieges a fearful consequences. They are not to be conciliated by to their rescue, and save the Republican party from rup-the Whigs. Engrossed with a single idea, they care for ture.

His Excellency, AUSTIN BLAIR.
P. S. Some of the manufacturing States think that a fight would be awful. Without a little blood-letting this and Mr Adams in Massachusetts, and towards me.
"I will give you an outline of the manner in which I

would handle it. Show the origin of slavery. Trace its introduction to the British Government. Show how it is disposed of by the Federal Constitution; that it is left As I read this letter, it says, that unless the Republican party is saved from rupture, the Union direct taxes and representation. Show that the agitation is not worth a curse, and to save the Republican of the question in the tree States will first destroy all party there must be a little blood-letting. A

blood-letting must follow, to save a party. "But the great aim and object of your tract should be It is not the Constitution and the preservation to arouse the laboring classes of the free States against of the Union under it that is to be saved from Abolition! Depict the consequences to them of immediate Abolition. The slaves, being free, would be dispersed

whole people must be involved in a civil war, and

Fellow citizens, the day was when I was a party man-but never did I place the interests of my German—reduce his wages, be confounded with him, af-fect his moral and social standing, and reduce the white laboring man to the despised and degraded condition of I merely recognized party as a means by which the interests of my country were to be promoted Fellow citizens, was ever prophecy more truly I know, and have known since the commence fulfilled, so far as it has proceeded, than those ment of this struggle, no party but the party of words of the departed Clay, uttered nineteen the Union, and no cause but the cause of my years ago? Congress at its last session should country. This Republican party in Congress has have occupied itself in such legislation as was kept up its distinct party organization, and has required to enable the rebellion to be suppressed not failed to resort to the nightly caucus to carand the Union restored, but I venture to assert ry its measures. I feel it to be a duty to my that the authorized report of its proceedings will countrymen to warn them of this, in the hope show that three fourths of its time was con- that hereafter the partisan may give way to the sumed in discussions about the negro and in patriot.

the consideration of propositions to deprive the And now, when all the patriot holds dearowner of the services of his slave. These bills, when the Government he has been taught to venmany of them, were called bills to tree the erate and love, is threatened, and a free discusslaves of rebels, and Senators spoke of libera- sion of their public acts proposed, I hear that ting the slaves in face of the fact that every there are some who would prevent it by cries of man knows, the practical effect of depriving the "traitor," and threats of Fort Warren. Years negro of his master, who is also his guardian ago, the great Northern statesman gave utterance and protector, is not to make the negro free to the following sentiments, which I commend to

but to make him, instead of the slave of one you:

man well cared for, the slave of every man in "Important as I deem it to discuss, on all the community, not one of whom has the slight-est interest in his comfort or in his moral or present pursued, it is still more important to main intellectual culture. The descendants of the tain the right of such discussion in its full and men of the revolution will never admit the ne- just extent. Sentiments lately sprung up, and gro to a social and political freedom and equal now growing popular, render it necessary to be ity with themselves. What is freedom? Is it explicit on this point. It is the ancient and cona tangible substance? Does it bring with it stitutional right of this people to canvass public practical results, or is it an idea, that which measures, and the merits of public men. It is a orings with it neither benefits nor privileges? homebred right, a fireside privilege. It has ever What are the social and political privileges of been enjoyed in every house, cottage and cabin free negroes in the so called free States? This in the nation. It is not to be drawn into contro-Utopian idea of freedom for the negro has versy. It is as undoubted as the right of breath swept over large portions of our country, seized | ing the air and walking on the earth. Belonging hold of our people as a contagious disease, dis-ordered the minds of its victims until in their as a duty; and it is the last duty which those madness they look on approvingly of the ac- whose representative I am shall find me to abantion of Congress, and also applaud the act that don. This high constitutional privilege I shall has filled Green's row of three story brick build- defend and exercise within this House, and withings in Washington, under the shadow of your out this House, and in all places, in time of war, Capitol, with fugitive slaves, who of their own in time of peace, and at all times. Living, others, have left their masters who supported them and their homes that sheltered them and blessing of God, I will leave them the inheritare now supportered and sheltered at the expense ance of free principles, and the example of a manly, independent and constitutional defense of the people's treasury.

sels prevail? Already has this Congress enacted All my hopes for the suppression of the rebel a law making negroes competent witnesses in all lion and a restoration of the Union are based upjudicial proceedings—criminal and civil—in the on the intelligence and patriotism of the people. District of Columbia, so that if you visit the capital of your country your life, your liberty or Wendell Phillips tells you that he has been laboryour property may be taken from you upon neing for mineteen years to dissolve the Union. gro testimony. Does this elevate the negro or Keitt says his whole public life has been directed rather does it not degrade the white man, and is to the same end-the one in the North, the other not conduct like this but carrying out that which in the South-both have rode at see-saw on the the Phillipses, Garrisons and the Giddinges have same board-shoulder to shoulder have stood, the contended for for years—the doctrine of negro Abolitionists of the North and the Secessionists equality? In times past many of the men who of the South. It is as necessary to bury the one voted for this law attempted to separate themselves from Giddings, Garrison and Phillips, but their acts and declarations at the last to put down with the cartridge-box; the other, I session of Congress, their recorded votes and trust in God, we shall be able to defeat at the speeches show them to be passengers upon the same vessel, bound for the same port and pulling at the same out. They fellowshipped with Giddings in their convention in Chicago, and upon his motion incorporated his idea into their platform. They have, since coming into power, sent him to Her Majesty's daminions as Consul in Canada, and now he writes to one of your army will not be drawn from their assertion by the cry

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of traitor to the Government, uttered by partisaus

for party purposes.

What is really the policy of this majority party in Congress? Who has assailed the President, and put him under the pressure he tells us is upon him, and is increasing? Who is clamorous for a change of policy? The Republican party. Who says that the Union is dissolved; that the seceded States are not only out of this Union, but in another Government?

Senator Lane, of Kansas, in reply to a question of Mr. Browning, on the 10th inst., said: I do not like to be catechised. I say, in all kindness to the Senator, that I laugh to scorn the idea of extending constitutional rights over a State and people who trample under foot that Constitution, and who are at war to overthrow that Constitution. The idea of those States being in the Union is, to me, ridiculous. The fact is, they are not only out of this Union, but in another Government. I have given no weight, and I profess to give no weight to the idea that any one has the claim of constitutional rights in those States that are out of the Union, and fighting against the Constitution and the Union.

In like manner speaks Senator Harlan of Iowa. He says:

It has been maintained by all our jurists that within the limits of any State of the Union the National Conthe limits of any State of the Union the National Congress has no constitutional authority to interfere in the regulation of the institutions that reinte exclusively to the internal policy of its people—that the National Government may do whatever is necessary for our external defense, internal peace, and for the promotion of the general welfare; but that the people of each State must be permitted to be the exclusive judge of the propriety o its own local laws, applicable to its own people alone—that on all these subjects this Government should not interfere; should not impose its opinions, nor suffer itself to be used as an instrument in the hand of the people of any other State or States for imposing their opinions and views on the people of any other State. Nobody has entertained that opinion more honestly than I have, nor has anybody been more analous to carry it out in practice; having, during my short public career, ever maintained having, during my short public career, ever maintained this dectrine, both in public and private, as well as by my votes in the Senate.

But in my judgment, this disability has been removed,

and this brings me to consider the further suggestion of the Senator from Pennsylvania, and urged by other Sen-ators. They maintained that all the States that have been in this Union are still in the Union—that theoreti-cally the Union has not been dissolved, that a State once existing as a member of this Union, cannot, by any act of its own people, be annihiliated and cease to be a member of the Union—that once a State always a State, or as others have presented it, "the i ing never dies; the prince is always in existence." Well, sir, I have anticipated in past the answer to this theory. The argument is supersicial. It is the common law doctrine, applicable to rights of persons and property in a State, that has not died, and cannot die. Titles acquired under one prince are not de-stroyed by the existence of an interregnum. The title does terminate on account of the death of the granter, but must be construed to be a grant from his successor. and this perpetuity of title is not to be terminated even during the period when there is no prince. So far as the holder of the franchise or the grantee under the prince is concerned, the prince countd die; that is, the grant con-tinues, the franchise is still good, the title valid, though the king be dead.

If a State Government may be destroyed by the people residing within its own boundaries, we inquire in the next place if some of the States of this Union have not been roved. If these States have not, in contemp law and the Constitution, ceased to exist, they are still States, and if States, they are either in the Union or out

of the Uni n as States.

Now, what is a State? It is not, I apprehend, the land on which a people may happen to live; nor is it the peo-ple that may happen to live on the land. It is such a le-gal organization of the people in one compact community as will enable it to protect the rights of each and all against all intruders, usually denominated a government with such officers as will enable it to woset laws and administer justice, and hold intercourse with other States or nations. I inquire if, in South Carolina, there now ex-ists such a State! If so, is it in the Union! If it is a State, still in the Union, where is its Governor! where is its Legislature! where is its judiciary! If you recognize t as a State, you must recognize the organs through which the people act. You cannot claim that it is a State because the land is there on which the people live, nor merely because there are people living on the land, but it must be because there is such a political or civil organization of that people as enables you to recognize their existence through their officers—executive, legislative

If you admit that such a State exists within the limits of South Carolina, I humbly submit that it is out of the Union. There is no Governor there whom you can recog-nize as a Governor, there is no Legislature there that you can appeal to as a Legislature, there are no judges there before whom your people can claim a trial of their rights, and whose adjudication you can recognize as valid.

If a people exist there without an Executive, without a Legislature, and without a judiciary system which you can recognize, is it a State? I maintain that it is not a

State; and I think I am sustained in this conclusion by the language of the Constitution itself. It says:

"The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution, and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the tion or laws of any State to the contrary not-

Now, sir, I submit that there is no such Governor, that there are no such judges in any one of the rebel States, that their State organization has ceased to exist; it has been obliterated by their own wicked people. You can no longer recognize the people within those boundaries as a State. You have no means of reaching them through any State organization; and if there is no civil organizaion through which you can reach them as the people of a

Tate, the State has ceased to exist.

I submit, in the next place, that the President, in administering the laws in these rebel districts, has assumed that no State Government exists. If Tennessee and North Carolina are still States of the Union, what right had your President to appoint Governors for their people. If these rebel districts are still States of the Union, what constitutional right has the President to proceed to suppress an insurrection unless requested to do so by the Legislatures thereof, or, during their recess, by the Governors? Again, if these districts are still States of the Union, what right has the President to commission the officers of their militia called into the service of the United States, the Constitution expressly reserving the right to appoint the officers to the States respectively from which they are called! Has not the President treated the people of these rebel districts, in all these respects, pre-cisely as if they were Territories of the United States? Is it possible for him to administer the laws of the United States within their limits in any other manner? It is, therefore, manifest that you are compelled in your official action to hold and govern them as organized Territories, or to acknowledge their independence. In what, then, does any one of these rebel States differ from

Nebraska, from Washington, from Dakotah, from Colo-rado, or any other Territory of the Union? In nothing whatever except the naked pretense that a State Government once existing can hever cease to exist, in violation of the historical fact that they have ceased, and do cease to exist, either through the madness o their own people, or in consequence of the superior strength of their enemies. Your President has elected to consider the State Governments within the old boundaries extinct. For all practical purposes they are dead. All the State laws lie as a dead letter on the statutebooks, unless you choose to revive them. But if you have power to revive them and tive them vitality, you may enact other laws, as you would enact laws for any other Tetritory. The people are citizens of the United States; they have a right to claim the protection of the laws of the United States; and your President, with your sanction, is proceeding to organize provisional local gov-ernments within the limits of those States as rapidly as they are overrun by your armies. It is true that he expects, and we expect, that when this rebellion shall have been suppressed, these people will re-organize their State Governments, and become members of the Union. But while this practical death continues, Congress and the President are responsible or the character of their civil governments and their local institutions, as in any other itory of the United States.

In my opinion you have not only the right to govern the people of these rebel States as Territories, but it is your duty to do so. And, moreover, that you can never suppress the rebellion in any other manner. Civilized people cannot live with each other in large numbers without a civil government. Property must be bought and sold, wills must be made, deaths will occur, estates must be administrated marriage must be sologisticated to be sologistical debra be administered, marriages must be solemnized, debts must be collected, and criminals must be punished. If learns that a bad government is better than none hence they will submit to an illegitimate prince to avoi

But it you have the right; and it is your duty to organize temporary governments for these districts as you de for other Territories, you have the right to extend to them all general laws enacted for the people of the Territories. You have the same discretion in the one case that you have in the other. As to these rebel States, you are no longer restrained by the Constitution from liberating the slaves if the interests of the country and the per petuity of the Union require it.

If, as Senator Harlan says, these States, by the act of secession, have ceased to exist, I hum bly submit that secession is not a nullity. If the Senator be right, we are all wrong, and have been wrong from the beginning. We have proceeded upon the belief that no State could secode, and that all such ordinances were pullities. If nullities, they cannot be effectual for any purpose; if they are legal, and were but the exercise gal right, by what authority does Senator Harlan seek their subjugation? Before he took his seat as Senator, he swore to support the Constitution. If these States have ceased to exist, it must have been by virtue of the exercise of some com tional right secured to them, and if so, how does he reconcile what he proposes to do with the oath he has taken? The Senstor says that the President has elected to consider the State Governments in the seceded States extinct, therefore he, the Senator, deriving his legislative power not from the Constitution he has sworn to support, but from the acts of the President, would legislate for the seceded States and the people thereof, outside of

The Senator, in his zeal for the negro, falls to remember that it is only because these States are States, and States in the Union in contemplation of the Constitution, that we are waging this war. The President's call for troops in April of last year was to enable him to execute in the Union the laws of the Union, and to protect and hold the public property in the Union, and to suppress a combination of citizens in the Union powerful enough to resist successfully the ordinary judicial officers. It is because these States have declared themselves out of the Union, and do not respect their constitutional obligations to the Union, that we are justified in waging this war. Yet these